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- ART. IV. — 1. *The Duty of a Rising Christian State to contribute to the World's Well-being and Civilization, and the Means by which it may perform the same. The Annual Oration before the Common Council and Citizens of Monrovia, Liberia, July 26, 1855, being the Day of National Independence.* By ALEXANDER CRUMMELL. London. 1856.
2. *The English Language in Liberia. The Annual Address before the Citizens of Maryland County, Cape Palmas, Liberia, July 26, 1860, being the Day of National Independence.* By ALEXANDER CRUMMELL. New York. 1861.
3. *The Relations and Duties of Free Colored Men in America to Africa. A Letter to Charles B. Dunbar.* By ALEXANDER CRUMMELL. Hartford. 1862.
4. *Proceedings at the Inauguration of Liberia College, at Monrovia, January 23, 1862.* Published by Order of the Legislature of Liberia.
5. *Liberia's Contributions to Letters and Theology. The Future of Africa.* By REV. ALEXANDER CRUMMELL, Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy in Liberia College. — *Liberia's Offering, being Addresses and Sermons.* By REV. EDWARD W. BLYDEN, Professor of Languages in Liberia College. 2 vols. New York. 1862.

It is impossible to read any ordinary account of Africa without having the mind filled with images of sadness, and the heart aroused to a painful sympathy. Such a picture of desolation, ignorance, cruelty, and general degradation, with the thought that the people are our fellow-beings, — that their aggregate numbers approach a hundred millions, and that every avenue to their relief seems sealed, — death, in some fearful shape, guarding every portal, — is indeed most appalling. Nothing so reproachful to our humanity is to be found on all God's earth. It is as if the ocean — the silent highway which brings into happy contact all other lands — had in the case of Africa served only to wash away the tie of blood that bears witness to the universal brotherhood of man. We compass Arctic seas and dare the most horrible fate in pitiless wildernesses of ice, to find the bones of one dead man; but it is

impossible to awaken a thousandth part of the interest in the actual sufferings and moral death of the myriads of Africa. And why? Because they are so miserable, so utterly to be pitied!

Theirs is, indeed, a strange, an anomalous fate. Those who interest themselves in searching out the springs and tributaries of crime and misery in great cities, learn to recognize in Darkness a great power for evil, in Light a benign moral as well as sanitary agent. In proportion as the wretched live in dungeon-cellars and unwindowed garrets, or in by-ways whose labyrinthine coils forbid the entrance of the full light of day, is found the tendency of poor humanity to sink to the lowest depths of degradation without a struggle or an upward glance. The best cure devised, the only wholesale remedy, is the running of a wide street through the infected district, a path of light, straight as a beam of the blessed sun, irresistible in its power of cutting open poisonous blind alleys and horrible knots of murder and worse than murder, and in which by night floods of gas-light secure safety and decency more effectually than the best police.

But Africa,—unhappy Africa, enormous continent, seemingly God-forsaken and man-aborred,—known as the home of rapine, treachery, and savage barbarity, such as it makes the flesh creep to read of,—Africa, who sells her children without shame or mercy; whose festivity is the slaughter of helpless and unoffending victims, and her choicest morsel their quivering flesh; whose religion is, if possible, more abominable than her amusements, and from whose many dialects all words which signify any noble or honest, any pitiful or devout feeling, have dropped away as useless, their places supplied by others which betray familiarity with things accursed; bathed in sunshine which, forsaking its better office, corrupts instead of purifying; suffering the torments of a lidless eye, “blasted with excess of light,”—what a fate is hers! Fierce beasts and venomous reptiles, plants full of death, and winds that carry pestilence, are hers, and men of like nature seem her natural product. Better animal and material things may be found here and there,—gold, ivory, precious woods and oils and gums, cotton, sugar, coffee; but we are forced to think

that better *men*, men who have in them the gift of healing and the love to use it, must needs be exotic. No germ of improvement exists among her native tribes; the elephants that roam her wastes or congregate about her infrequent springs might as reasonably be expected to agree upon a social polity, or to originate a code of morals. Without a miracle, Africa must receive the awakening and purifying power for which she languishes through men imported from more favored lands. Dumb and helpless, she can never seek the true light, the Light of Life. Generous pity, enlightened benevolence, Christian love, must go to her where she lies, bleeding and helpless; must lift her drooping head, find balm for her many woes, and show her the cure for that blindness which is her curse.

Africa is called "missionary ground," and truly. She is the "God's acre" of that devoted band, both men and women, who, moved by a divine pity, have crossed the world to labor and suffer in her behalf, and whose remains lie beneath her "burning marle"; for few indeed have ever returned even to find a resting-place within the dear bosom of their native land. Better face the bullets that are decimating our armies, than the more insidious dangers of an African home. A slave-trader, or other murderous wholesale robber, may elude the withering, venomous power of the climate, for he is protected by a Mithridatic charm,—pre-saturated with a poison which not even Africa can overmatch. But the man of mind, gently bred, and especially the woman of our race, goes to Africa as the martyrs of earlier times went to the ordeal of fire, fully aware that innocence will be no protection. The blazing, consuming sun that makes Sahara a desert, and one half whose torrid light would cover Siberia's dreary steppes with villages and abundant human life, has no mercy on pale faces. As well sow wheat before the simoom as send out our brethren and sisters to labor under that terrible sky. Sanitary care, temperance, heroism,—nothing avails. Burning days, succeeded by almost frosty nights of deadly damp; a season of killing heat which ushers in a deluge of rain, to be followed by another heat that dries up the rivers and annihilates vegetation,—these alternate extremes, which admit of no alleviation, forbid the white man's hope of evangelizing Africa.

Death is not to be coaxed into sympathy with even our holiest aims and efforts.

That the civilization and Christianization of the Land of Light shall be undertaken and accomplished, is doubtless written. For what age and what instrumentality the work is reserved remains to be developed. But why it should not be attempted in our day, and by those who speak our English tongue, it is difficult to see. We live in a period of great undertakings and great discoveries; among the latter this, greatest of all,—that there are no insuperable difficulties. The idea entertained, the impulse felt, the obstacles thoroughly investigated and understood, the means will be found. But the motive power must not be that love of gain which has been hitherto the chief prompter in any interest in the great lonely continent, and which has in too many cases been gratified in a way which might, were that possible, teach new barbarity to Africa, and give a deeper tinge to the bloody rites of Dahomey. It must be no vampyre spirit, willing to suck what it craves even from the decaying corpse, but the zeal of the good physician, who freely and gladly brings all the resources of science, all the patience and hope of love, to bear upon the body seeming dead, in the hope of discovering and fanning into full life some yet vital spark. The impulse towards an object so unpromising and so unpopular must be noble and disinterested, and calm wisdom and far-seeing sagacity will be required to make it efficient.

Suitable instrumentality will not be far to seek. The wise and liberal souls who are to undertake the great work will find artificers ready. Our readers will, of course, have perceived that, considering as we do the climate of Africa impracticable for white men, our hope for her rests on the belief that another race, of tropical origin, awaits only our hearty co-operation and generous help to do that which personally we cannot do. Men there are among us who, competent morally and intellectually to be the seed-wheat of a moral wilderness, are also endowed with a constitutional aptitude for resisting the miasms of a torrid wilderness. They are men to whom long and grinding oppression has taught the value of religion, and to whom piety, enlightened or not, has become as natural as their

inborn love of music ; men, too, whose skin — the texture and color of which in our country bring upon them only poverty and a ferocious contempt — finds its natural and healthful action under a sky which scorches our very marrow. They are a people passionately desirous of learning, as will be testified by those who have seen the trembling hand of three-score and the ebony fingers of childhood grasping the same primer with equal eagerness, to find out the names of the letters, and to comprehend the magic power which forms familiar words out of these mystical characters. And their teachers tell, too, of the surprising readiness with which they acquire the simple rudiments which are thus offered, — a readiness which will doubtless be found to keep pace with the higher learning which better fortunes will soon place within their reach.

Those who doubt the capacity of the black man for instruction may sneer at this assumption, but there are already facts enough, and a state of things actually existent, which must consign all such scepticism to the limbo of ignorance and prejudice. Doubts are natural enough, it is true, under the circumstances, and it would seem as if they might claim the support of philosophy and experience ; for where can be found an instance of slavery's having nursed intelligence, or of elevated traits of character having been brought out by the lash ?

The success which has attended the few rational efforts hitherto made to educate the man of color may, without exaggeration, be claimed to have shown him unusually susceptible of intellectual light. It is true that the half-savage field negro, to whom no human being ever offered an intellectual pleasure, even in the shape of a child's picture-book or a word of rational information, would be a poor subject for collegiate instruction. But is he a fair specimen of the race, imbruted as he is by toil and ignorance, — of set purpose kept in blindness, lest a ray of light should make him mad ?

“ What would be thought,” says Mr. Shedd, in an address before the Colonization Society of Massachusetts, “ of a generalization in respect to the native traits and capacities of the whole Celtic stock, — of the entire blood of polished France and eloquent Ireland and the gallant Highlands, — that should be deduced from the brutish descendants of

those Irish who were driven out of Ulster and Southdown in the time of Cromwell; men now of the most repulsive characteristics, 'with open, projecting mouths, prominent and exposed gums, advancing cheek-bones, depressed noses; height five feet two inches on an average; bow-legged, abortively featured; their clothing a wisp of rags; spectres of a people that were once well-grown, able-bodied, and comely'? But such a judgment would be of equal value with that narrow estimate of the natural traits and characteristics of the inhabitants of one entire quarter of the globe, which rests upon an acquaintance with a small portion of them, carried into a foreign land and reduced to slavery."

Even in slavery, the smallest chance of self-improvement tells on the black. If he stand behind his master's chair or drive the carriage of his mistress, let him be of never so pure ebony in color, he will invariably be found to have imbibed many more and higher ideas than his employers desired to impart. We should be sorry to confine white children to such an amount of education; and it is questionable whether, were the cases reversed, our children would succeed any better in entrapping the stray sunbeams of the mental heaven than do the impressible and imitative people of African blood. It is a pity that what few glimpses of knowledge have fallen in their way have not been better worth catching.

Of their fitness to endure extremes of climate and other personal hardships we have abundant proof, without going beyond the rice-fields of South Carolina and the swamps of Florida. One of themselves — a college-bred man of color, the Rev. A. Crummell, of Queen's College, Cambridge, England — speaks of it thus: —

"In connection with the painful providences of our lot in this nation, God has given us also special advantages. One of these is capability of endurance and wonderful tenacity of life. The black man, even in the lands of his thralldom, shows extraordinary vitality. If you go into some quarters of the earth, you cannot but see how, at the approach of a civilizing power, the aboriginal races fade away and perish. The mere breath of civilization seems destruction to them, and they vanish before it. But the black man appears to be of harder stock; he lives, even under the most adverse circumstances. The old slave-traders used to say the negro had nine lives. However severe the storm of disaster, he still stands, and, endowed with a most plastic nature, he can suit himself to the hardest lot."

The condition and prospects of the African race in our country have never been so interesting and important as at the present moment. According to the opinion and estimate of one of the most intelligent and eminent of their friends, Mr. Latrobe of Baltimore, President of the American Colonization Society, the situation of the free blacks before the commencement of the war was miserable, if not hopeless.

“The condition of the free colored population as a class is inferior to what it was in 1816. They find by sad experience how irresistible is white competition in a strife for bread. Excluded from many an accustomed calling, legislation has been invoked to straiten their condition, and emancipation has been prohibited lest the numbers of so superfluous a class should grow too fast. Strenuous efforts, made under favorable circumstances, to put them on a footing of equality with the white race, have resulted only in increasing public prejudice. Courts of justice have recognized the existence of this feeling, and even in those States which boast peculiar sympathies in their behalf, the distinction of caste practically pervades the entire community, so far as they are concerned. And why should all this be? Why at least have the free colored people not been permitted to maintain the kindlier relations, indifferent as those were, of half a century ago? Personally they have not deteriorated in the interval. In individual cases the free man of color has wonderfully improved; he is better educated, more refined; with appreciative tastes, an elevated ambition, comfortable means, often wealth. They voted, in Maryland, up to 1809, and the popular almanac, at the beginning of the present century, in the States of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, was the work of Benjamin Banneker, a man of unmixed African descent. Why, then, the change in question? There is but one cause to which it can be attributed, — the increase of our aggregate population. The two races are coming, day by day, into closer contact. Collisions, of old unknown, are beginning to occur between the masses of the respective populations. The old story of the Spaniard and the Moor is being re-enacted in our midst. We are but illustrating the law that invariably prevails where two races that cannot amalgamate by intermarriage occupy the same land.”

What is here put forth with regard to the half-million or more of free blacks in 1860 applies with greater force to those of the present time, whose numbers we cannot attempt to compute. The problem as to the fate of these unhappy multitudes

is one of the deepest interest, not only to themselves and to us, but to the whole civilized world. Here they are, by no fault of their own, — living, sentient creatures, of generous nature, with the same needs, the same desires, the same future destiny, as our own ; and, so far as their condition in this world goes, an immediate and heavy responsibility rests upon us. How, in view of all the difficulties, shall it be met ? Legislation may forbid, but it is utterly incompetent to ordain, anything with regard to their future under the new *régime*. A free man is free, whatever be his color. We can enforce upon him the restraints of law and order ; we can punish him for begging, and at the same time prohibit his practising any trade of which he feels himself capable, and by which he might earn an honest livelihood ; we may tax him, though he has no political *status* ; we may exclude him from our public conveyances, our churches, and our schools, and by laws worthy of Japanese brains may drive him from the borders of States whose lands lie untilled for want of the very labor he would bring ; but we cannot force him to go hither or thither, or to practise this or that trade or way of life, without reducing him again to the condition of a slave. We can only, having first gained his confidence, enlighten, advise, aid, and defend him. He is at liberty to choose his path, narrowed as it is, wisely or unwisely, as the case may be ; but we of more knowledge may warn him against the evil, and offer inducements toward the advantageous and the happy. When a river is to be forded, the man who has long lived on its banks can be of essential service to the stranger or the child who is obliged to cross ; and these new-made citizens of ours, who have been so long in a “state of pupilage,” yet not taught, are but children and strangers in the path of life. Even already they mutely appeal to us for help, and it must be owned that the very depth of their need chills our humanity. How can we undertake a task so immense ?

It is plain that our power lies in theirs. Our ability to help them depends on their ability and willingness to help themselves. We might try in vain to lift a dead weight so fearful, but to their strength we may with good hope add the power of our machinery. They ask nothing more. To feel their

own responsibility is one of their new pleasures. Under all their misfortunes, all their discouragements, all their sad and bitter memories, they are full of spirit. There is nothing of the beggar about them. Europeans as poor, as untaught, as much abused, would be abject, but the negro never. Win his affection and confidence, show him that you are thoroughly kind and true, and he will serve you heartily and faithfully. Use him ill, wound his pride, trample on his self-respect, and he will bear with you as long as he must, but you have not conquered him. This spirit, inherent in the race, its enemies and contemners call *impudence*, even when it exhibits itself in no more aggressive form than walking about the streets well dressed and with a cheerful and assured look. But it is what Eastern people call *grit*, and respect very highly in persons of their own complexion, and what the few who do not despise a black skin denominate, quite as truly, *manliness*. That the colored people should retain it under all the cruel injustice and wrong that have been heaped upon them is most remarkable. The black man is a perfect Jack-in-the-box as to oppression. While the lid is well on, he is quiet and submissive ; but the first chance for liberty and light shows the power of a strong spring in him. In the District of Columbia, where we have, as it were, a cabinet picture of the effect of emancipation upon the individual, we cannot but admire the behavior of the blacks. Quiet, orderly, and, if somewhat elated by the great boon, yet restraining all outward signs of elation with what almost merits the name of dignity, they “bate no jot of heart or hope” at being sent forth upon the world to “take care of themselves,” though they have been industriously taught to think this a task impossible to them. It is true, they do not fully appreciate the difficulties before them. They fancy that we are going to be more just and kind, more reasonable and Christian, than before. Let us hope, not only for their sake, but for our own, that it may be so. But, again, intuition has not taught them political economy. As they have no nationality and no concert, they feel and judge only as individuals, each deducing his future from his past. But the iron law of the dreadful science founded on human selfishness will none the less confront them as they attempt to advance : when

two races struggle for existence on the same ground, the weaker must give way. So has it been ever since the world began ; so must it be till — shall we say the millennium ?

The colonization plans of our excellent President are doubtless based upon his conviction that this struggle must be a fruitless one on the part of the colored race. He is not sanguine enough to think — and, indeed, his surroundings do not seem calculated to inspire the confidence — that men are more virtuous or more brotherly, wiser or more disinterested, now than they have been in times past ; and his kindly nature would give the new freemen a fair chance to show their powers and use their liberty in a clear field. But his intended beneficiaries, though they love and honor him as their great benefactor and sincere friend, are not attracted by the prospect held out to them. They have their own views, with which feeling and habit have not a little to do. They have no idea of being “ removed.” They deny that they are foreigners, and claim the privilege of remaining in their own country, unless they see it for their interest to go elsewhere. Children of instinct, of affinities, of affections, as they are, no one of a different race can plan acceptably for them. They must work out their own salvation, and they will do it in due time. We must have patience. Mr. Latrobe says : —

“ Apprehensive as are the intelligent among them with regard to the future, whither can they look ? They have already tried Hayti, and found it wanting. Alike in color, but unlike in all other respects, they have neither affinities nor sympathies with its people. They have no desire to be hewers of wood and drawers of water in the British colonies of Trinidad and Demerara. They fully appreciate the motives of those who invite them to the West Indies. With no spot on the American continent not appropriated to the white man’s use, and his exclusively, whither can they go to avoid the throng of multiplying thousands now competing with them in all the avenues of labor ? Whither, when the West, which now by absorbing the foreign immigration relieves them from the pressure on the seaboard that would otherwise crush them, — whither, when the West, too, shall have a redundant population, shall they go ? Whither but to Africa, where climate genial and salubrious to the descendants of the soil PROTECTS THEM AS WITH A WALL OF FIRE AGAINST THE ENCROACHMENTS OF THE WHITE MAN, guards the headland, sentinels the mine, and stays, even

on the very border of the sea, on the rivers, and in the forest, that march of empire which pestilence alone can check?"

Forty-four years ago, Rev. Robert Finley of New Jersey, moved, as he said, "by the increasing wretchedness of the negroes," originated the idea of planting a colony in Africa, the object of which should be to induce the free people of color "to go and settle there." He met with some sympathy, and more ridicule; excited a good deal of attention, and also a large share of violent opposition. There were those who saw that the free blacks were in a miserably degraded condition among us, and who were ready to commend, if not to aid, almost any scheme for their relief; and there were not a few to whom the idea of doing anything for the grinning, blubber-lipped half-baboon called a negro was ludicrous in the extreme, and who believed that any man pretending to take an interest in them was a hypocrite, who had his own ends to answer. The thinking and conscientious among our citizens discussed the scheme in their way, and were in general favorably impressed by it, although they perceived at once that the number of persons who could be sent to Africa, properly fitted out for the new life they were to lead there and reasonably secured against its difficulties and dangers, could bear scarcely an appreciable proportion to the mass of free blacks among us, if only private benevolence was to be invoked in their behalf; while the advocates of immediate emancipation strenuously opposed the whole plan, as being likely to quiet the conscience of the slaveholder, and to make him feel all the more secure in holding his human chattels, for having freed a small fraction of them and fitted them out for exportation. Some enthusiastic individuals there were who rejoiced in the idea that *all* the free blacks could be removed and colonized, and who would hardly believe figures when the sum necessary for colonizing even the increase of a single year was exhibited to their wondering eyes. But good Mr. Finley persevered, saying that he knew the thing was of God, and in December, 1816, his prayers and efforts resulted in the formation of the American Colonization Society, which has ever since been sedulously at work, sustained mainly by the benevolence of individuals, and winning the approbation of many of our

wisest and most eminent statesmen, divines, and philanthropists.

If the intention had been the deportation of free colored people contrary to their own will and wishes, all the opprobrium heaped upon the society by its bitterest enemies would have been simply just; and there were stories of force used in getting "emigrants" on shipboard, and of prisons employed for confining them after they had consented to go, "lest they should foolishly change their minds," which, true or false, operated at one time very damagingly against any and every effort to persuade the free blacks, however poor and wretched, to go to Africa under any circumstances. There were instances of slaves, whose masters, dying, had bequeathed them freedom, on condition that they should consent to be colonized in Africa, refusing even that greatest of earthly boons through fear of the horrors they had been taught to dread in case of emigration.

But gradually the true idea, — that with which Mr. Finley began, — the providing of a place in Africa whither colored people could go, and where they might settle, — came to be generally understood, and benevolence and common sense have both been enlisted in its favor. He died in the faith which subsequent events have abundantly justified; for LIBERIA has become the nucleus of a civilization modelled on our own, and at this moment offers all the inducements which are found powerful in other cases to colored men who desire a fitting home. The colony has become an independent republic, known everywhere as such, and having commercial treaties with the principal nations of the civilized world. It is yet feeble; but it stands alone, and possesses the elements of future strength. It has good laws, well administered; churches and schools; the mutual-aid societies of more advanced communities; agricultural exhibitions, with their annual prizes; a militia, tried and not found wanting; a traffic with the interior, very advantageous to all concerned; a foreign commerce, and ever increasing commercial resources. Light-houses guide ships into the ports; revenue-cutters watch over the public interests on the coast. Colored people go thither, not because they are fascinated by the eloquence of coloniza-

tion agents, not for want of love to the land they leave, but to "better their condition." "All that colonization has aimed at doing," says Mr. Latrobe, "has been in view of voluntary, self-paying emigration, — an emigration that finds its precedents in the history of every people, from the nomadic tribe whose encampment shifts with failing springs or withering pasturage, to the community which, driven by religious persecution from the Old World, landed from the Mayflower, or that which encountered the perils of Cape Horn, attracted by the gold fields of California."

In speaking of Liberia and her prospects of happiness and usefulness, it is necessary to recollect that all glowing anticipations in respect to any great changes for the better in this world are regarded with distrust, and that we can expect to carry the reader with us no farther than we are able to maintain a certain cool indifference, and to refer rather to the statistician than to the prophet. Yet really the contemplation of Liberia as she is awakens such admiration and such hopes that it is difficult to maintain a philosophic coolness in speaking of what she has already accomplished. Let us, then, borrow the sober words of the (English) Society for promoting Christian Knowledge : —

"The progress of this colored settlement during the last forty years has hardly been surpassed by anything recorded in the history of civilization ; and it may, therefore, be said with truth, that the negro has given the lie to the assertion of the ethnological sciolists who, presuming on his alleged natural inferiority, declared him incapable of taking care of himself. He *has* taken care of himself, — has provided by acts of courage and self-denial for the growth of his prosperity, for the education of his children, and for his instruction in the truths of Christianity ; and in so doing has forever solved and settled the question as to his capacity for self-government."

A more enthusiastic tone may perhaps be tolerated in a Liberian, — one who, having enjoyed the best educational advantages which England can offer, is now wholly devoted to the land of his adoption : —

"Here, all around and beyond us, on every side, in ourselves and children, and in the coming days at hand, are spur and stimulus and

high incitement to every noble work and lofty desire that has circled the brain of the greatest men earth ever saw in all her histories. The ocean, in majesty and magnificence, seems inviting argosies of sails from our ports and harbors, laden with tropical products for foreign lands. This vast and wild Africa, to indefinite depths, seems now yearning to throw off the forest, the jungle, and the bush, and to open a pathway for the spade, the hoe, and the scythe; so that all the world, ere the coming of its last days, may delight itself with its prolific fulness and its vast and inexhaustible riches. Tribe after tribe, far inward, through marsh, over mountain, down beyond the broad valleys, clear off to the large central lakes of the continent, starts up, and seems listening to the faint music of the distant Gospel sweetly sounding on this coast, and craves its blessings and its gifts."

In a public address at Monrovia by the same writer we have this exposition of his desires and hopes for his country: —

"The world *needs* a higher type of true nationality than it now has; why should not we furnish it? I know the wont to regard precedent in fashioning and compacting the fabric of government. And it is, to a great degree, a wise tendency, for it is a perilous sea on which to embark, — that of nationality; and all along its course one sees strewn, everywhere, the wrecks of nations. And therefore an infant state needs, and should seek light. . . . And this light comes, to a great degree, from the past, — the light of national experience. Hence we must read history, and the philosophy of history, and laws, and the genius and spirit of laws. But are we ever to be bound by these? Are they ever to hold the spirit, and the brain, and the healthful instincts of cultivated and civilized humanity, in this day of the world's high advancement, — hold them ever in check and close restraint? Must we, in order to be a nation, imitate all the crudities and blunders which statesmanship has gravely handed down in history as rule and authority? I trust not; for no thoughtful man can look into the history of states without perceiving many national forms and established customs which even now have mastery, but which are nothing more nor less than empty gewgaws. I do not lack, by any means, reverence for the sage wisdom of ages; neither do I despise the ancient forms of older states, which often are the clothes — garments — of noble truths. But he must be blind who does not see that the formal precedents and the hollow forms which, for ages, have held and bound the souls of vast empires and mighty kingdoms, are now vanishing before the clear brain and the cool common-sense of mankind.

‘ Even now we hear, with inward strife,
 A motion toiling in the gloom, —
 The spirit of the years to come
 Yearning to mix himself with life.

‘ A slow developed strength awaits
 Completion in a painful school, —
 Phantoms of other forms of rule,
 New majesties of mighty states.’

“ Why should we haste, with foolish, blind zeal, to pick up the chaff, and rust, and offal, which wise nations are throwing away? Why not seize upon their cautious, prudent eclecticism, now, in our masculine youth, instead of going the round of a stale, perhaps a foul experience? Why not make OURSELVES a precedent? Why should we not profit by the centuries of governmental history, if even we should appear venturesome?”

‘ The noble soul by age grows lustier,
 Her appetite and her digestion mend;
 We cannot hope to feed and nourish her
 With woman’s milk and pap unto the end:
 Provide you manlier diet!’

“ If I mistake not, the great *desideratum* of the nations is a rigid honesty; a clear, straightforward rectitude; the absence of chicane, of guile, and cunning; the cleaving the meshes of policies and heartless diplomacy; and the constant and happy consciousness of the ideas of God, of truth, and of duty.”

This sounds ambitious, but it is ambitious in the right direction, and the opinion of a solid American writer of the present tone of Liberia sustains Mr. Crummell in his lofty aspirations: —

“ This Liberian republic is a really *Christian state*. There is not now, probably, an organized commonwealth upon the globe, in which the principles of Christianity are applied with such a childlike directness and simplicity to the management of public affairs, as in Liberia. New England, in the days of her childhood, and before the conflicting interests of ecclesiastical denominations introduced jealousies, — Geneva, in the time of John Calvin, when the church and the state were practically one and the same body, now acting through the consistory, and now through the council, — in fine, all religious commonwealths in their infancy, and before increasing wealth and luxury have stupefied conscience and dimmed the moral perception, furnish examples of the

existing state of things in the African republic. Even the common school education, which the Liberian constitution provides for the whole population, has been given by the missionary, and in connection with the most direct religious instructions and influences. The state papers of the Liberian executive and legislature breathe a grave and serious spirit, like that which inspires the documents of our own Colonial and Revolutionary periods."

What we gather from these extracts as to the progress already made in Liberia towards intellectual improvement makes the idea of a college there, adapted to the wants of her newly organized population, seem neither incongruous nor premature. Common schools she has already established, and the reputation of these, spreading among the native tribes in her vicinity, brings numbers of young persons from the interior in quest of education. As early as 1836 a citizen of Mississippi, Captain Isaac Ross, whose name deserves most respectful mention, bequeathed freedom to his slaves on condition of their emigrating to Liberia, accompanying this legacy with the gift of his whole estate, valued at one hundred thousand dollars, to be used for the benefit of the persons so emigrating to the land then so dim and distant, and for the establishment of a college in Liberia. Unhappily the estate fell into litigation, as is but too common in such cases, and in twelve years the depletion went so far that the expense of removing one hundred and seventy-six slaves to Africa absorbed nearly all that remained.

On the 30th of May, 1849, the Massachusetts Colonization Society, at its annual meeting, decided that "the Republic of Liberia ought to have within itself the means for educating citizens for all the duties of public and private life," and at once appealed to the National and State societies to unite in an effort for this excellent purpose. Such appeals in our country never fall unanswered, and in this case approbation and sympathy were ready. Trustees were appointed, donations of considerable amount were received; friends sprang up on all sides, and the generous enterprise soon took a decided shape. It is curious to read the fate of legacies to benevolent objects; it would seem that the result was intended to teach rich and public-spirited men to be their own executors, and not to tempt

their heirs to disgrace themselves by trying to divert the wealth they covet to channels never intended by the owner. Some legacies reached the college fund,— that of \$ 10,000 left by Mr. Samuel Appleton of Boston, and another of \$ 5,000 from the estate of Josiah White of Philadelphia. But one from the late Mr. Stanton of Illinois, “to be expended in promoting the cause of education in Liberia,” met the fate of Captain Ross’s good gift, and never came into the possession of Liberia or her friends. A very large bequest of Mr. Anson J. Phelps of New York was set aside as being “void through uncertainty,” although the intention and wish of the testator were clear as the sun at noonday. Thus, if the college had been fated to depend on legacies, we might have been obliged to defer for a long time the announcement of its completion.

The Liberian government passed an act establishing Liberia College, incorporated a Board of Trustees, and granted to the institution one hundred acres of land on the right or north-west bank of the river St. Paul, about twelve miles from its mouth and fifteen miles in a direct line from Monrovia. This position was chosen on account of its various advantages, particularly that of salubrity, the place being one to which invalids suffering from the climate resort for the recovery of their health. But black men proved in this case only too much like white men. Selfishness stepped in ; this man and that insisted that the college should be built where it would be of some private advantage to himself, and controversy delayed the great work for several years. The principal materials required for the building were sent from this country in 1857, the ship which carried them being ballasted with brick of better quality than can as yet be produced on the spot. Litigation and dispute caused all to be laid aside for a time, and it was feared that much loss would ensue. But through extra care this evil was averted, and the wood-work, being kept under shelter, was little, if at all, injured. A few faithful men watched over the interests they had so much at heart, and through all the storm of opposition never lost sight of the main object, — the permanent and worthy foundation of an institution which should outlast all these choice materials, and prove a blessing to the world for ages. “The founding of Harvard College,” said

one of them, “forms an epoch in the history of the United States ; why should not the founding of Liberia College be an epoch in the history of Africa ? ”

At length all impediments were overcome ; the building proceeded, was finished, to the satisfaction of all, — substantial, elegant, capable of expansion, and offering at once the space at present required for students and their exercises, and room for the families of two resident professors. It stands seventy feet in length by forty-five in width, three stories high, and surrounded by an iron-framed verandah eight feet wide, all on a foundation of granite. A dining-room sufficiently large to serve for all the inmates ; a room for the library and the philosophical apparatus ; a hall to be used as chapel, lecture-room, or for any other purpose for which students and faculty are to be convened ; rooms for study and recitation ; dormitories, offices, and store-rooms, are included in the building, the kitchen being detached, yet in easy communication with the dining-room. The library has already a recognizable existence, for Professor Crummell has obtained from friends in the United States four thousand volumes, many of them rare and valuable, and to these the Corporation of Harvard University adds six hundred. These, with other private gifts of smaller value, certainly form a very respectable nucleus, around which we may hope thousands more will gather as the years roll on, and the great value of the institution makes its due impression on our ever liberal community. The fact that a mineralogical cabinet has been quietly contributed, shows plainly that there are people among us who “devise liberal things” even for poor Africans, so long shut out from all the lights of science.

On the 23d of January, 1862, Liberia College was solemnly inaugurated, with appropriate ceremonies and addresses. A procession, music, cheers, and congratulations ; thanks for the past, high auguries for the future, — these were the outward demonstrations of the occasion, such as the multitude could share. But they only faintly expressed the feelings of the thoughtful, patriotic, pious souls who knew what success had cost, and who secretly breathed a *Nunc dimittis* as the joyful shouts went up to heaven.

Who could behold such an event with indifference? From this side of the ocean it looks sublime, — “marvellous in our eyes!” To those immediately concerned, it must have seemed at once the reward of labor and the answer to prayer, — the splendid proof of generous sympathy in friends beyond the sea, and a pledge of the Divine favor and protection to a race long down-trodden almost beyond the power of hope or faith. All honor to these dark-skinned citizens, and to their noble friends here among us! Founding a university, in a new country which is ripe and ready for such a boon, is rearing a temple in honor of all that is precious and dignified in intellectual progress, and all that is purifying and exalting in our hopes for the future, or a great Pharos, to which men who love their country may raise hopeful eyes as they “go sounding on their dim and perilous way.” Who, in any land, can be grateful enough to those who build these strongholds of learning and religion?

The simple ceremonies of inauguration were modelled, as is almost everything else in Liberia, upon those used in the United States. The Chief Justice officially delivered the keys of the edifice into the hands of the President of the College, Mr. J. J. Roberts, who was long the President of the Republic, accompanying the transfer with some remarks, in the course of which he said: —

“While conflicting views were raging, and while many despaired of ultimate success or the realization of this happy boon, we are too happy that, with entire unanimity, we can thus congratulate ourselves, in view of the success thus gloriously achieved, and with united hearts and fraternal consent bring our offerings of differences, and thus deposit them upon the common altar of national union, to be consumed by the all-powerful principle of love, which has its abode in celestial regions. The sacrifice being acceptable to our Heavenly Benefactor, it will rise as sweet incense to the skies, to be returned only in such abundant blessing as shall eventually crown our united efforts to further this enterprise with more than ordinary success. What people on earth have better reasons to love each other and be united, than the people of Liberia? What people have suffered more than ourselves, taking into consideration all the past and present circumstances, to inaugurate a government upon the simple, heaven-born principle of man’s right to claim, assert, and maintain his liberty?

“The negro born on American soil has, after years of toil and suf-

fering, returned to his fatherland, without purse or scrip, without the precious gift which this college is intended to bestow, to battle against the prejudices of a wild country ; but, under these unfavorable circumstances, he has taught the world that a man is a man, when he is allowed to try to show himself such. The growth and prosperity of a people is certainly in proportion to its intellectual improvement ; and the mind being thus cultivated, it is, as we are aware, more susceptible of the great saving truths of the Bible. It is, then, for the perfection of these high and lofty principles that this institution has its existence amongst us. Education has done a great deal, as you know, in all enlightened countries ; for, in consequence of its power being brought into contact with minds susceptible of its golden touch, mountains have poured forth rivers of wealth, the arid wastes have been made fertile, and from it has sprung the golden sheaf to make glad the hearts of faithful and scientific husbandmen. Much, much more has been done in all countries by this powerful agency than by any other. Who will venture to compare now the great success achieved by the founder of the art of printing with that attained by the conqueror of the world ? ”

President Roberts, after a warm outpouring of gratitude to friends in the “ Old Bay State,” whose hearts had been moved to recognize those claims of brotherhood that take no account of color or nation, mentioned the names of many who had been most prominent in advocating and aiding the establishment of a college in Liberia, and dwelt anxiously on the truly national character of the institution, its being intended for the use and benefit of all, to be administered apart and aloof from all sectarian or sectional preferences, all party or political favoritism. The plan of study was then sketched. It embraces Intellectual and Moral Philosophy ; the Greek and Latin Languages and Literatures ; Mathematics ; Natural Philosophy ; Jurisprudence and International Law ; besides the Modern Languages and general literature. Mr. Roberts had something to say of the usefulness of each of the principal branches of study, but argued especially against the prejudice entertained by many as to the study of the ancient languages.

“ In some directions, I am aware, it has been urged that the time spent by students in acquiring a knowledge of languages is time lost ; as such acquirements, say these objectors, only tend, in a large majority of cases, to fill the minds of the young with an empty conceit of their

literary attainments, while such knowledge does not infuse that humble and cautious spirit which is fostered by sound learning, and is the characteristic of true philosophy. This view, however, obtains only in contracted minds. But all active, liberal, and highly cultivated minds agree, that instruction in various languages, both ancient and modern, and especially a critical acquaintance with Greek and Latin, is indispensable to a polite and comprehensive education. And such is the view entertained by the patrons of this institution. For, indeed, a knowledge of languages, so I am impressed, is not only necessary, as the principal method by which one man shares in all the intellectual attainments of the rest of his species, but also constitutes a most extensive and curious science, which is intimately connected with the history both of nations and of man, regarded as a creature capable of progressive improvement, and which may be employed with the greatest advantage to exemplify the conclusions of moral philosophy. ‘Than the reading of Greek and Latin,’ says an eminent author, ‘no employments have been yet devised which are better fitted to exercise any intellectual power, whether memory, judgment, or imagination.’ Hence it must be desirable to every lover of literature and science, that that system of education should be pursued which unfolds the various faculties of the mind so as to prepare it for all those efforts and investigations by which all difficulties are surmounted.”

The next speaker was the Rev. Edward W. Blyden, Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages and Literature. His discourse was principally devoted to the advocacy of those pursuits which form his especial province.

“This is an auspicious day for Liberia and for West Africa. The first college edifice erected on this benighted shore has been completed; and we, descendants of Africa, are assembled to inaugurate it. Perhaps this very day, one century ago, some of our forefathers were being dragged to the hold of some miserable slaver, to enter upon those horrible sufferings of the ‘middle passage,’ preliminary to their introduction into scenes and associations of deeper woe. To-day, their descendants, having escaped the fiery ordeal of oppression and slavery, and having returned to their ancestral home, are laying the foundation of intellectual empire, upon the very soil whence their fathers were torn, in their ignorance and degradation. Strange and mysterious providence!

“It is among the most fortunate circumstances connected with the founding of Liberia, that schools of a high order, and now a college, should be established in this early period of her history. It is impos-

sible to maintain our national independence, or grow in the elements of national prosperity, unless the people are generally imbued with a proper sense of their duties and responsibilities as citizens of a free government. The duties which devolve upon the citizens of Liberia are as diversified and important as those which devolve upon citizens of larger nations and communities ; and, in order to discharge those duties faithfully and successfully, we need all the fitness and qualification which citizens of larger nations possess. To say, as has been too often said, by persons abroad and by persons here, that the establishment of a college in Liberia at present is premature, is to set aside the experience of older countries, and to ignore the testimony which comes to us from a hundred communities far in advance of us, showing the indispensableness of institutions of a higher order to send down, through all the ramifications of society, the streams of wholesome and elevating influence.

“ De Tocqueville informs us that, before the colony that landed at Plymouth was as old as Liberia, there were laws enacted establishing schools in every township, and obliging the inhabitants, under pain of heavy fines, to support them. Schools of a superior kind were founded in the same manner in the more populous districts. The municipal authorities were bound to enforce the sending of children to school by their parents. It is certainly a very remarkable fact, that in New England, by the time the first child born in the colony had reached a proper age for admission to college, a college was established. They did not wait to have all those preparations which some have fancied are necessary before Liberians can reap the benefit of a college. We are informed that the forests were yet standing ; the Indian was still the near neighbor of the largest settlements ; the colonists were yet dependent on the mother country for the very necessities of life ; and the very permanence of their settlements was as yet undecided, when they were erecting high schools and colleges. They did not regard it as too early to provide for the thorough education of their children. They had left their fatherland to seek an asylum of liberty on those distant shores, and they well knew that intelligence was indispensable to the enjoyment and maintenance of true liberty.”

The Professor then entered upon a warm defence of classical studies, — a defence which one reads as in a dream, asking, Is this a black man, speaking to other black men, — escaped slaves, those stupid, toil-worn creatures, accustomed to ‘be driven and castigated like beasts of the field ?

Rev. Alexander Crummell, a full black, whom we have

before mentioned as a graduate of Queen's College, Cambridge, England, is Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, and, for the present, of the English Language and Literature. He was in the United States, on business for the College, at the time of the Inauguration, so that no address of his on that occasion is to be recorded. But we have several of his productions before us, and find them invariably characterized by good sense, practical knowledge, plain speaking, and the warmest desire for the improvement of his people. Being invited by the citizens of Maryland County, Cape Palmas, to deliver an address on July 26, 1860, the anniversary of Liberian independence, instead of imitating the "spread-eagle" style of our Fourth-of-July orations, he gave his hearers a well-considered address on "The English Language in Liberia," a discourse curious and interesting in many points of view. He dwells on the strange spectacle of an organized negro community, republican in form, possessed of Christian institutions and civilized habits, yet in color, race, and origin identical with the masses of rude natives around them, — these people speaking this refined and cultivated language, which beyond the bounds of Liberia is fast supplanting the meagre African dialects, conquering wherever it penetrates, by mere force of excellence.

"Within a period of thirty years, thousands of heathen children have been placed under the guardianship of our settlers. Many of these have forgotten their native tongue, and know now the English language as *their* language. As a consequence, there has sprung up, in one generation, within our borders, a mighty army of English-speaking natives, who, as manhood approached, have settled around us in their homes from one end of the land to the other. Many of these take up the dialect of the other tribes in whose neighborhood their masters lived, but even then English is their speech. Thus it is, that everywhere in the Republic, from Gallinas to Cape Palmas, one meets with a multitude of natives who have been servants in our Liberian families, and are daily in the utterance of English."

With a population of fifteen thousand emigrants from this and other lands, the number is in fact more than doubled by the constant influx of native Africans from the contiguous country; and the ability and firmness with which these sav-

ages are kept in order, and the sagacity shown in providing for their effective and inexpensive training, not only in ordinary business, but also in letters, is truly admirable. Each Liberian family becomes in some sort a missionary teacher, taking into its service one or more of the natives as domestics, and giving instruction which we are assured is most eagerly sought and appreciated. Some amusing anecdotes are told of these heathen guests of the nation.

“We have received many thousands of recaptured slaves, who are distributed among the families of the colony. It is a great question which arises, — Are these men going to be amalgamated with us, or are they going to outnumber us and sink us to their own level? Two years ago a large number of this class was recaptured in the slaver *Echo*, and brought to Liberia. Twenty were sent to one family, and twenty to another, and thus they were disposed of. Those who were taken to Cape Palmas were first washed, then put in a house, and afterwards placed under the instruction of a schoolmaster. The next Sunday after their arrival they were brought in a body to the Episcopal church. They took their seats very quietly, and after the service was over they returned to the school. Since then they have attended church very regularly. They are quiet, peaceable, industrious men. No vestiges of idolatry — such as fetichism, obeahism, or devil-worship — have ever been observed among them, and they have embraced the Christian faith. They have now become citizens of the Republic. They have been enrolled among her soldiers, and they can perform their duties with as much precision as the others. There is nothing which does so much for civilizing a man as putting a gun into his hands. It makes a savage into a man directly.

“Among the recaptured Africans were two men who exhibited peculiar signs of industry, and two of the colonial women noticed them. One of these women frequently stopped and spoke to one of the men, and fancying that he would make her a good husband, she did what is sometimes done in leap-year in this country, — she courted him, and took him before a magistrate and married him. Two years ago he was a savage! His master missed him from his usual employment, went in search of him, and at last found him. He took him before a magistrate and said, ‘I want this man.’ But the man’s wife said, ‘You can’t have him!’ ‘But he’s my apprentice,’ rejoined the master. ‘But he’s my husband,’ replied the wife. The result of the trial was, that the lady was victorious, and carried off her husband in triumph.

“On the *St. Paul’s*, numbers of recaptured slaves are apprenticed

out, and the minister of that place told me that his church, which had previously been almost deserted, is now well filled with these recaptured Congoes. Two houses are now being erected for the use of them; and from what I have seen of them, I have no doubt they will become good citizens of our country. Already the young negroes refuse to speak their own language, and talk the English language instead. To give you a proof that the recaptured Africans soon acquire a taste for the habits of civilized life, I may mention an instance which occurred in the family of Judge James. He had taken two recaptured females into his house as servants, and after they had lived there for a few months, he took two others. But the first two refused to associate or eat with the second two, and said they were not civilized enough. But by and by the second two became brightened up, and were then permitted to associate with the others. Some time afterwards other two recaptured females were taken into the house, and not only the first two, but the second two also, refused to associate with them, and on precisely the same grounds. I mention this to show you how plastic the nature of the negro is, and how easily they can be raised up to become good citizens and Christian men and women."

The knowledge of English spreads faster than the knowledge of Christianity, it is true, yet that follows in due time. Professor Crummell proposes some plans by which this desirable result may be accomplished. It is not to be denied, he says, that a naked savage will speak and write good English, yet preside at "devil-dances" and other heathen abominations. It is no uncommon thing to find boys well able to read and write English who have not yet learned to wear clothes. But he thinks that the great desire which the pagans have to acquire the language which is to them the key to wealth and power, will put into the hands of Liberia the means of inducing them to assimilate themselves to the colonists in the still more important matters of general civilization, and the relinquishment of their abominable rites.

"The chief point is the English language. This language is destined to get the mastery all along the coast of Africa from Sierra Leone to the Bight of Benin. Literature is quite common among us. If you go into our houses you will find Shakespeare and Milton, Bacon and Bunyan; or you may find some such ambitious work as Guizot's History of Civilization, or Bancroft's History of America. You will find the American poets, — Dana, Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell, and all the

other great poets of this country ; and when the English steamer arrives, you will see heaps of literature, fresh from the English market. You will see the Eclectic and Quarterly Reviews, the Bibliotheca Sacra, and all the other principal periodicals, the Illustrated London News, the New York Tribune. Not only do you find these papers in the hands of the people of Liberia, but many of the people of the interior have been instructed by them.

“ The Methodist, Episcopal, and Baptist denominations have had missionaries in the country, and they have done a great deal of good. Some of the teachers in their schools are native Africans, and many of them are engaged in teaching the English language. In teaching the classes of Arithmetic and Euclid, I have had no difficulty. In Euclid the aborigines are quite equal to the best of my own school, and with regard to reading and committing to memory, there was one who sat first in his class. At every mission there is a school, and in some places two or three, and in these schools you will find just the same school-books which are used in this country. Besides the common schools we have several high schools and academies. There is a High School at Cape Palmas of which I have been Principal for the last three years. These schools are attended by native children as well as the children of emigrants, and all through Liberia there is hardly a family which has not three, four, or five native children, whose fathers have brought them from the interior to receive an education. . . . So many large American and English vessels pass along the coast for trading purposes, the natives wish to have one member of each family who can talk the English language, in order that they may be able to traffic with them, and hence they send them to school to learn it. And now a college is in course of erection, and will be completed next year. One result will be that the native chiefs along the coast, instead of sending their sons to England, Scotland, or Holland, to be educated, will send them to Liberia.”

A curious story is told of the value of a knowledge of English. A man sold his son to a slave-trader, the laws allowing him to do so. But the boy understood and spoke English well, and he insinuated to the purchaser that his father, being mature and strong, would be a much more efficient laborer than himself, and that they had better take him, which they did, to the affectionate parent's great discomfiture. The father pleaded that the law did not allow the selling of a father by the son, but the traders took him, and paid the purchase-money to the son.

Mr. Crummell has been indefatigable in his labors for his adopted country, travelling, preaching, and writing on various topics connected with the welfare of the rising state. One of his productions is an admirable paper on "The Relations and Duties of Free Colored Men in America to Africa," a pamphlet of fifty pages, in which he argues anxiously the point of nationality, and sets forth not only considerations of duty, but the immense advantage to themselves which would ensue if the colored men of character and property in this country would try the new world into which their less fortunate brethren have ventured under the pressure of unhappy circumstances. He speaks modestly in offering advice on a point so important, but he speaks from experience and observation, and weighs his words carefully. He had been an Episcopal clergyman in New York for some years, when he was urged to make a voyage of observation to Liberia. This was some ten years ago. He was so well pleased with what he saw on arriving at Monrovia that he forthwith took out naturalization papers, and from that day to this his whole soul has been devoted to the land of his new home. The pamphlet above mentioned contains some interesting statistics, particularly with regard to the growing commercial advantages of Liberia, the good success of Liberian merchants, and the increased culture of cotton, sugar, coffee, and other products much in demand. The large amount of property owned by free colored people in this country, a considerable portion of which is unproductive, owing to the terrible disadvantages under which they suffer, is urged as a reason why they should transplant their means to a country where large returns await enterprise and industry. "As a people," says Mr. Crummell, "we are victimized in a pecuniary point of view, as well as morally and politically; and as a consequence there is an almost universal dread of intrusting our moneys in the hands of capitalists and trading companies and stock; though, in great cities, large sums are put in savings banks. There are few, however, who have the courage to take shares in railroad and similar companies, and in many places it could not be done."

Speaking of the "African Methodist Church," with its organization, its bishops, its conferences, its Magazine, he says: —

“But *the* point to which I desire to direct your attention is the fact that they have built, and now own, some three hundred church edifices, mostly brick; and in the large cities, such as New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, they are large, imposing, capacious, and will seat some two or three thousand people. The free black people of the United States built these churches; the funds were gathered from their small and large congregations; and in some cases they have been known to collect, that is, in Philadelphia and Baltimore, at one collection, over one thousand dollars. The aggregate value of their property cannot be less than five million dollars.”

After treating of the various avenues of commercial profit lately opened in Liberia, Mr. Crummell proceeds to show that the philanthropic results of the voluntary emigration of black men of ability and wealth to Liberia would also be very important.

“The moral and philanthropic results would be equally if not more notable. The kings and tradesmen of Africa, having the *demonstration* of negro capacity before them, would hail the presence of their black kinsmen from America, and would be stimulated to a generous emulation. To the farthest interior, leagues and combinations would be formed with the men of commerce, and thus civilization, enlightenment, and Christianity would be carried to every state and town and village of interior Africa. The galling remembrances of the slave-trade on the coast and of slavery in America would quicken the blood and the brain of both parties; and every wretch of a slave-trader who might visit the coast would have to atone for his temerity by submitting to the rigid code framed for piracy. And when *this* disturbing and destructive hinderance to African progress was once put down, noble cities, vast agricultural establishments, the seeds of universities, and groundwork of church organizations, would spring up all along the banks and up the valley of the Niger.

“In Liberia, we have the noblest opportunities and the greatest advantages. We have a rich and varied soil, — inferior, I verily believe, to but few, if any, on the globe. We have some of the proofs, and many of the indications, of varied and vast mineral wealth of the richest qualities. We have a country finely watered in every section by multitudinous brooks and streams, and far-reaching rivers. We have a climate which needs but be educated and civilized and tempered by the plastic and curative processes of emigration, clearances, and scientific farming, to be made as fine and as temperate as any land in the tropics can be.

“On this soil have been laid the foundations of republican institutions. Our religion is Protestant, with its characteristic tendencies to freedom, progress, and human well-being. We are reaching forward as far as a young and poor nation can to a system of common schools. Civilization, that is, in its more simple forms, has displaced ancestral paganism in many sections of the land, has taken permanent foothold in our territory, and already extended its roots among our heathen kin. Our heathen population, moreover, in the immediate neighborhood of our settlements, is but small and sparse; thus saving our civilization from too strong an antagonism, and allowing it room, scope, and opportunity for a hardy growth in its more early days. Active industry is now exhibiting unwonted vigor, and begins to tell upon commerce and the foreign market.

“Now when you consider that all these elements, humble as indeed they are, are our own, — that we are the creature and dependent of no foreign government, — you will agree with me, I think, that men who have families will act wisely in looking narrowly at our advantages, ere they place themselves in circumstances where the moral elements of life and society are more rude, and where the formation agency and influence will belong to some foreign power. That these elements are slow in growth and expansion, is true; but this, it will be remembered, furnishes probability of their being sure and permanent.

“As yet, we are but *parvenus* in the intellectual world. Our greatness lies in the future; as yet we have not secured it. Nevertheless American black men have done, and are now doing, enough to challenge respect. When American black men are ably editing literary journals, publishing respectable newspapers, issuing from the press volumes of sermons, writing scientific disquisitions, venturing abstruse ‘Theories of Comets,’ and sending forth profound ‘Vital Statistics,’ vexatious alike to opposing statesmen and divines; they so far vindicate their mental power and ability, as to make it manifest, that, under better circumstances, in a clear field, they could

‘Move and act

In all the correspondences of nature,’

with force, and skill, and effect.”

But we must break off our citations, intended to show what black men can say and do, — are saying and doing. An exposition of the commercial resources of Liberia would tend to illustrate the prospects of the new College and to encourage the hopes of its patrons, but our space forbids the introduction

of a theme which could not be fitly presented in few words. The commercial treaty with the United States—long sought, but only recently confirmed—is an important advance for Liberia, and will, we may hope, grow more and more important to her as her resources increase. The present dearth of paper-making materials has brought into notice the Liberian products which may be turned to this important use, no less than six of which were offered at the great London Exhibition of the present year. There are machines already invented by which every one of these species of fibre can be quickly prepared for the market, and paper-stock needs only to be offered to command the very highest price. Here, then, is a very important, valuable, and profitable article added to the already long list of Liberian commercial treasures. “Without paper,” says the New York Evangelist, “civilization would almost stop; it would be peculiarly appropriate could Africa, on the borders of which civilization now stands, supply us with that which we need to make her progress sure and rapid.” In the present anxious and agitated condition of our free colored people,—hardly able to enjoy their new-found liberty for thinking what they shall do with it,—it seems only kind to them to remind them how many and how eligible modes of making their talents, their ingenuity, their industry, and their money availing exist beyond the competition of unscrupulous white men, in a land where the presence of cultivated colored people is the greatest possible boon next to liberty itself.

We shall conclude what we have to say at present with a suggestive extract from an article in the London Quarterly Review, on African Discoveries.

“Africa may in one sense be defined as the continent of the future. At least seven eighths of the enormous area of one of the largest divisions of the globe have yet to acquire even the rudiments of true civilization. Although forming so considerable a portion of the earth, Africa has been almost entirely neglected by the nations of modern Europe *since the discovery of America*. They directed their attention and their enterprise almost exclusively towards the new regions which were so unexpectedly revealed. The tide of colonization long flowed in an uninterrupted stream to the West, where the hope of easy conquests and the expectation of boundless wealth attracted the most ambitious and

energetic spirits of the age. If Columbus could have foreseen the effect which his great discoveries would have upon a large portion of the human race, the piety and humanity of the great navigator would certainly have recoiled from the spectacle. It is a melancholy reflection, that one of the continents of the Old World should owe by far the greater part of its sufferings to the discovery of the New. The colonists and conquerors of America, having used up an immense proportion of the population in compulsory toil, turned to the opposite continent for a supply of their industrial wants. The robust natives of Africa were found to be specially fitted for labor in hot countries, and the petty sovereigns of the coast were soon instructed in the art of replenishing their treasuries by the sale of their subjects, who were exported by hundreds of thousands to the remote and unknown regions of the West. Thus one quarter of the earth has been left a prey to a rapacity and violence disgraceful to humanity."

Truly, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge!"

- ART. V.—1. *Life of Samuel Kirkland*. By SAMUEL K. LOTHROP, D. D. SPARKS'S *American Biography*. Second Series. Vol. XV. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1855.
2. *Memorial of the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Founding of Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.* Utica: Ellis H. Roberts. 1862. 8vo. pp. 232.

THE recent literary festival at Hamilton College has awakened a new interest in the men who were specially concerned in founding that institution. Chief among these was the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, the larger part of whose life was spent in endeavors to Christianize the Indians of Central New York, and to introduce among them the benefits of modern civilization. He was not permitted to witness as large success as he had hoped; yet few men have labored more faithfully than he, and few have achieved, under like circumstances, more important results. His life covers the period of our Revolution; he was officially connected with some of the leading men and events of his day; and his relations to the central college of